

No. 564

April 18, 1947

CONSCRIPTION v. EDUCATION

## The PPU stands for the right and duty of every man to act as his own conscience dictates

O N April 1 this year, the school-leaving age was raised to fifteen. On the same day, a substantial majority of the House of Commons voted in favour of military conscription. April Fools' Day, 1947, will be a memorable date in British

history. Is the object of our State educational system solely to impart knowledge to children, technical and theoretical? If that is the case, its extension will do more harm than good. Knowledge subordinated to no definite or worthy end, knowledge out of all proportion to the moral development of mankind, is just what is threatening our whole civilisation, and more precious things than that, with unimaginable catastrophe. If that is the object of education, then military conscription is its logical culmination.

#### The object of education

Or is the prime object of education to raise a generation of men and women who know the meaning of "vocation," who can think for themselves and discipline themselves, and, above all, respect one another as persons? If that is the object of education, then the institution of military conscription is a horrible perversion and mockery of it.

Conscription means that boys, without regard to their tastes or talents, shall be dragooned for a critical year into one senseless and stultifying occupation.

It means that unquestioning obddience will be inculcated as a virtue, and reasonable criticism be

penalised as a crime.
It means that whatever capacity for self-discipline they may have acquired will be ignored and over-ridden by the petty despotism of the barracks.

It means that any respect for

It means that any respect for men and women as persons, as ends in themselves, will be supplanted by the view of men and women as units in a manœuvre or targets to be systematically wiped out.

That is what the National Service Bill stands for. It has not yet been ratified by Parliament. It need never be ratified by the country

The Peace Pledge Union stards for the right and duty of every man to act as his conscience dictates. join the armed forces is to surrender that right and contract out of that duty. Conscience cannot compel a man so to throw conscience away. Neither can a Government decree. If Conscience cannot compel a enough men refuse to be made sol-diers, the National Service Bill will be defeated. To defeat it will be a service to the nation.

#### RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR bledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Shappard House, Endsleigh St., WCI

# LEVELS OF PEACE

The Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union on the eve of the Annual General Meeting-sends pacifists

T a recent conference of pacifists of varying experience and A recent conference of pacinists of varying one approached at outlook, it was seen that peace may be approached at different levels.

The popular level sees peace in terms of victors and vanquished, and the dictation of terms. At the high level, promises like those of President Wilson's Fourteen Points or Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter may have been sanguine and sincere in motive, but their methods-obliteration bombing and blockade-destroyed faith, hope and love at the working levels of life.

Pacifists, who believe that peace must be built from these spiritual foundations, therefore utterly repudiate war. But are they not apt to make pacifism into a Westminster confession of what Governments should do, or MPs say in Parliament?

During the major wars of our times the Parliamentary opposition to war has been a mere handful; but after each war came reaction, and the minority rode the tide of popularity into power, until the next ebb-tide swept them into war again. We hold our profession of peace in earthen vessels, very easily broken. A deeper level than Westminster must be faced therefore if constituents are to be converted to peace.

#### Peace in Parliament

Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., as the recent debate on conscription showed, has been as frank in the House as with his own constituents in the avowal of his pacifism. But, even so, putting peace in Parliament is like putting a football into the scrum; the parties are all equally out to win—wars, or elections, or majorities.

The only Parliamentary peace of

outstanding success was that of South Africa in 1906 whose fruits the King and Queen have just enjoyed. But this peace was not merely a reaction from war; it was mercy and magnanimity following a time of revival of real religion. It had the note of the personal and national repentance that Victor Gollancz has today boldly preached and practised through "Save Europe Now." In fact, no George M. Ll. Davies

negation of war however courageous, nor reaction however tremendous, can release the spirit of peace or the

dynamic of reconciliation.
Only personal positive peace-making will convert men at the deepest levels. Peace must be created, not merely celebrated with fireworks; its final sanctions are the conversion not the coercion of men through some International Police Force using atomic bombs. At the deeper levels of con-flict and coercion (whether through military, monetary or majority power) crucible experiments of peace must be made.

Who will doubt the value of soli-Who will doubt the value of solitary voices crying in the wilderness of their day, as one remembers the witness of Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, Richard Cobden, John Bright, Campbell Bannerman, John Morley, Lloyd George, Keir Hardie, George Lansbury, Arthur Ponsonby; but how many of them were swept by popularity and power into the next war. The C.O.s of the war of 1914-18—when thousands served long sentences in solitary cells—did in fact. tences in solitary cells\*—did in fact get Conscience on the Statute Book for the benefit of their successors. The C.O.s of 1939-45 got less prison and more opportunity to work and witness positively. Their pacifism was not wasted because it had to be

#### INSIDE

The Quarterly Contribution
—F. A. Lea German Party Politics
—Gerd Treuhaft Inquest on Mussolini -Fredrick Lohr Book Reviews NEXT WEEK An eight-page issue will contain a report of the PPU Annual General Meeting.

personalised and their witness have to be made not only with their lips before Tribunals but with their lives

In the nature of things, leaven must be lost in the lump, and seed scattered on the soil if there is to be life and growth. It is sometimes forgotten what far-reaching results have been initiated by pacifists at the lowest levels of opportunity-revela-tions and reforms in the prisons, crucible experiments in delinquency, the creation of the Building Trade Parliament, the idea of the Whitley Councils, radical experiments in copartnership, in community farming, in "Tenement Town," in problem families, in religion, in literature, music and drama. Life is indeed a "dome of many-coloured glass"; saints Go not lose their particular colour when the light shines through them; and the light of common day, or even the twilight may be better or even the twilight, may be better for them than the limelight of pub-licity or propaganda.

#### What we stand for

Does the PPU stand for union as well as for peace, for harmony amid variety, for organisation moved by inspiration, for freedom both in affection and in action, for the renuncia-tion of venom as well as of violence? Can we affirm in fact, what so many august assemblies have affirmed in phrase, the resolve, even at the lowest levels of scope and influence, to hold the faith, in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and rightness of life?"

If the A.G.M. can rise to this, the loss of 90 per cent, of our PPU members or of 99 per cent. of the votes of the electors, need not make us despair of serving God by our eorts and sav-ing England by our example.

### Mr. Wallace's wishful idealism

COMMENTARY

ONE cannot but feel sympathetic to Mr. Henry Wallace's "starry idealism," as it has been called in his own country. He disapproves very strongly of the present policy of the USA and he would like to put something better in its place: for example, "the spending of 50 billion dollars through the International Bank on world reconstruction over the next 10 years."

years."

But the place to advocate that is in the USA, which alone has the dollars to spend. And it has been made quite clear that the majority of Americans are entirely opposed to such a policy. Part of this majority is congenitally opposed to such a policy; part of it has been converted to opposition by its post-war experience of what has happened to UNRRA supplies in the countries within the Russian sphere of influence. Mr. Wallace himself admitted it in his speech on April 11.

his speech on April 11.

"Evidently with Russian support some eastern European nations took actions which helped to civide the world. Last year the Coalition in Congress barely voted to fulfil America's contract to UNRRA after many angry assertions that American relief funds were supporting hostile governments."

#### Pathetic and futile

IN face of the admitted facts Mr. Wallace's wishful idealism seems pathetic and futile. "I would like to see Russia make an all-out effort for the United Nations by joining the regional committees and specialised agencies." So would everybody else. agencies." So would everybody else. But Russia will not. In fact, neither Russia nor America show the faintest sign of doing what Mr. Wallace would like them to do. So, apparently, he calls upon Britain.

by John Middleton Murry

Russia, you can voice the demant of the peoples of the world for peace. You see these giants nearing a death-struggle; you know that every nation caught in this struggle will also face death. You must cry out against this developing content hefore it is too late." ing contest before it is too late.'

All very fine, but what does it mean? Britain cries out. So what? Does it alter the Russian determination to squeeze reparations out of Germany? What is Britain to do in face of this perfectly concrete demand? Refuse to join America in resisting it? Mr. Wallace's policy amounts to precisely nothing at all. Britain cannot compel or induce America to spend 50 billions on reconstitutions on reconstitutions on reconstitutions. america to spend 30 billions on reconstructing the world, if Mr. Wallace can't. Even if he could, how could it be justly spent, until the profound political and moral cleavage between Russia and the West is bridge!?

#### A crass and moral blunder

THAT cleavage has been revealed as the chasm it is by the refusal of Russia to allow the Russian wives of 15 Englishmen to join their husbands. That may be regarded as a trivial matter; but it is not. And it ceases to have even an appearance of triviality when Russia insists on refusing to treat it as trivial. It is a quite radical challenge to a funda-mental principle of Western, and Christian morality.

So is the Russian treatment of prisoners of war, though here the Western allies have, by a crass moral blunder, given a semblance of legality of doing what Mr. Wallace would them to do. So, apparently, he upon Britain.

The standing between America and to Russian proceedings by their acquiescence in the Russian demand for "labour reparations." But Mr. Capitalism, and democratic socialism, Molotov, by reporting that the Gerand every non-Communist system.

man prisoners in Russia are less than 900,000, when there is good reason to believe that there should be three millions, has merely awakened the most sinister fears in German families, particularly since the Italian government has officially stated that of Italians taken prisoner in Russia, over 80 per cent. have perished. When the Sovietophils defend this behaviour of Russia on the ground that Russia has never accepted the Geneva Convention, it only makes matters worse. That a great power shuld refuse to sign the Geneva Convention puts it outside the pale of morality.

#### An absolute moral cleavage

I CANNOT see what Mr. Wallace, and those who think like him, and those who think like him, hope to achieve by glozing over, or completely ignoring these evidences of an absolute moral cleavage between Russia and what remains of Western civilisation. I am positive that it does no service to peace; it does nothing whatever to diminish the danger of war. This self-induced danger of war. This self-induced sentimental blindness would only make the war more terrible if and when it comes; for its effect, where it is indulged, is to corrupt the moral sense, and to that extent to make it more certain that the war, if and when it comes, will be simply a naked struggle for power.

I make no secret of my conviction that America and Britain have an overwhelming moral case against Russia: with regard to Germany, to the Middle East, to Manchuria, to Korea, to the prisoners of war, to Russian disregard for agreements, to the Russian abuse of the veto, to the Russian attitude on Atomic Controlindeed, on almost every issue on which a conflict of principle has arisen. I think it important that this moral retrogressiveness of Soviet Russia should be kept clearly before our every and not alward over her a our eyes, and not slurred over by a lot of irrelevant nonsense about the

## PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

## **COMMENTS**

ATELY a fresh spate of correspondence has reached protesting against John Middleton Murry's Commentary. Most of the letters are from pacifists, and some of them not merely take exception to some of Mr. Murry's conclusions, but declare that these conclusions are incompatible with pacifism. Evidently it is time we made our standpoint clear on this issue.

The primary purpose of Peace News is to win adherents to the Pleage, "I renounce war, and will never support or sanction another," That Pledge, in our opinion, provides the simplest and most satisfactory definition of "pacifism." The primary purpose of Commentary, however, is not to preach pacifism, but to present as realistic a survey as possible of the world with which we are confronted.

In particular, Mr. Murry tries to assess the policies that are, or are not, most likely to avert an outbreak of war. There is plenty of scope for disagreement hers: and we are prepared to publish articles, like A. J. Muste's, which reach quite different conclusions from Mr Murry's. Indeed, it is our belief that people can best discover the truth for themselves by exploring different lines of thought.

But lines of thought they must be, not arbitrary assumptions and assertions. Some of our correspondents do not seem to know the difference. Instead of contesting Mr. Murry's conclusions on the basis of ascertainable facts, they simply denounce them, or describe them as different from their own. Such descriptions and denunciations do not contribute to-wards a profitable correspondence; neither do they do credit to pacifist hearts or heads

One assertion is particularly common: that Mr. Murry is wanting in "understanding of Russia." His critics must surely be wanting in understanding of Mr. Murry: for to those who have followed his writings over the past fifteen years, this charge can only appear laughable. Few thinkers have taken more pains to understand the Soviet mentality.

Does "understanding," then, always imply approval? Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner: that is a precious truth. But it is precious precisely because it makes forgivenless criterion of good, and therefore ruthlessness our criterion of bad. Unless it is taken to provide us with Unless it is taken to provide us with a code of values, by which to judge the creeds and policies of people, it becomes, what Arthur Koestler has called it, "the woolliest phrase ever uttered." It leads us into a position from which we must either deny the existence of Machiavellianism—whatever evidence there may be for it—or else make out that Machiavellianism is good. ism is good.

No word is less understood than "understanding"—unless it be "mis-understanding." If only all our dis-agreements were misunderstandings, as sentimentalists sometimes suggest, toleration would not be the delicate and difficult achievement it is.

But most of the hostility to Mr. Murry seems to derive from a curious belief that, because pacifism weakens military potential, and pacifists earnestly desire peace, anything that weakens military potential makes for weakens military potential makes for peace. This argument is so unreasonable that if Mr. Murry did no more than explode it, we feel, his Commentary would be amply justified. For such a belief must lead either to reasissme haing propagated under false pacifism being propagated under false pretences. or to pacifism being discredited altogether.

# THE QUARTERLY CONTRIBUTIONS

IF pacifists agree upon anything, more positive than the renunciation of war, it is the principle that man's highest good is a life obedient to conscience. There is no principle that more desperately needs affirming in the world as it is today. Wherever we look, we are confronted with the ideology which maintains, not conscience, but material conditions, to be the sufficient inspiration of a good life; and whoever concedes, whether in war or peace, that to achieve a material end any means. however repugnant to conscience, may be adopted, gives yet a new impetus to that ideology.

But to say that conscience is the \_\_ inspiration of a good life is not to deny the influence of material conditions. It is all too obvious that obedience to conscience is more difficult in some circumstances than This winter, in Berlin and Vienna, hunger and exposure alone have driven thousands to crime-

even the supreme crime of suicide. We pacifists, therefore, are duty-bound to try and change our society. In every organisation and occupation, we have to exert our influence upon the material, as well as moral, en-vironment, struggling to realise the conditions that make obedience to conscience more natural. There is no sphere in which pacifists can be inactive. By such efforts we hope to build a society for which war would be as impossible as it is for us.

#### OPENNESS OF MIND

The purpose of this article, however, is to draw attention to one particular sphere in which pacifists are doing good work: the small, but sigsphere quarterly journalism.

In the current issue of The Adelphi, Mr. T. S. Eliot, formerly editor of The Criterion, defines the principle which used to animate him and his colleagues. Their "common basis," he says, was "a common concern for the highest standards both of thought and expression: thought and expression:

"It was a common curiosity and openness of mind to new ideas. The ideas with which you did not agree, the opinions which you could not accept. were as important to you as those which you found im-mediately acceptable. You exam-ined them without hostility, and in the hope that you could learn from

## —— by — F. A. LEA

them. In other words, we could take for granted an interest, a delight, in ideas for their own sake, in the free play of intellect.' Elsewhere in the same Adelphi, the

Editor, Mr. Middleton Murry, speaks of "the conscience that compels reason to seek the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."
That conscience is what Mr. Eliot tried to uphold—and The Criterion foundered, he says, because that conscience was largely eclipsed, in the triumph of intolerant regimes.

Clearly, such a conscience is not the prerogative of pacifists; but no clearly, it is a pacifist calling to uphold it: and it is encouraging to realise that, of the quarterlies which express Mr. Eliot's ideal today, three are conducted by pacifists.

#### BROTHERHOOD, VALUES, RESURRECTION

The Adelphi itself is one. Values is a little less catholic—not in its subject-matter, but its contributors, who are mostly pacifists professed. But the principle animating it is the same: to present a variety of views same: to present a variety of viewpoints, which the reader must assimilate for himself. In his current editorial, Robert Entwhistle writes:

"The way of transcendence is

that of a slow climb through a forest of opposites towards an ultimate Unity in which no genuine values are lost. Transcendence of opposites leads through Spiritual Order to higher levels of personality and so to the free society of our desire." Thirdly, there is the Phoenix

#### THE BUDGET

FOR us the outstanding feature is the expenditure of £900,000,000 on war preparation, or almost £24 million per day throughout the year, at a time when so many needs of civilised life are lacking here and in some other countries far more. We hear of famine conditions in Europe; of our Government's re-fusal to loan Yugoslavia £15,000,000

for relief.

Famine relief is one way of fortifying our fundamental witness by a constructive, practical effort. Even if the PPU cannot afford the whole £15,000,000 needed for relief by one stricken country, we cannot be happy about the expenditure of this colossal sum each week by our own government for war.

Two substantial contributions have recently come in the form of "conscience money"—not in the usual sense of repaying amounts by which the revenue has heen defrauded, but as a protest against blood money which willy-nilly the tax-collector extracts from us.

In one case a windfall has made possible this special contribution "for conscience sake." It is rumoured that the Chancellor will reduce the PAYE tax rate. If so, perhaps some of you may be willing to regard this in the light of a windfall and follow a good example?

MAUD ROWNTREE CORDER CATCHPOOL Joint Treasurers.

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Quarterly, which has the merit not only of expressing the same "openness of mind to new ideas," but of reflecting the work of those, both pacifist and non-pacifist, who are engaged in relating our values to

social experiments.
"London's leading literary journal, reviewing the first number of Phænix Quarterly, commented on the 'remarkable mixture' of the ideas expressed in our first editorial. This is as it should be. In our pursuit of unity, we must, we believe, embrace diversity. However believe, embrace diversity. However systematically satisfying, no single doctrine—religious, philosophical or political — contains, in our judgment, the whole truth. Most of them, perhaps contain some of it. It is our ideal for a mind that it should be a 'channel for all thoughts,' seeking without prejudice for what is true and worthy." These words, from Maurice Cranston's editorial to the second number, show how valuable an effort is being made, in this sphere of

made, in this sphere quarterly fournalism, to incarnate the spirit that unites, or should unite, pacifists. It is an effort that calls for our support.

#### Sacrosanct Federalism

I DO not understand why Mr. Sidwell is so upset at your reviewer venturing to disagree with Emery Reve's "Anatomy of Peace." Is "Federalism" a sacrosanct pacifist doctrine, to challenge which involves one in "distressing superiority" or in being "cockeyed in matters of fact?"

I disagree with both author and revilewer when they maintain that wars are caused by the co-existence of Sovereign states.

The primary cause of the world-wars was the ambition of financiers and politicians to increase their power and control over individuals, nations and governments. It is because the nation-states insist on going on with a financial-economic system which is in itself a form of warfare, that they

The bones of contention, in the last nalysis, are "markets" and "emanalysis, are "markets" and "em-ployment." So long as such a system, imposed by financiers and politicians, is allowed to continue, "Federalism" is likely to result in bigger wars rather

than in world-peace. The first step away from war and war-danger must be a financial-economic arrangement designed, not to "capture markets" and "create employment," but to aid production and consumption, with as little human labour as possible. In two words, From France Social Credit.

EDWARD ASHWORTH. 56 Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.

#### Forgiveness First

MAY I be allowed to point out that Esme Wynn-Tyson is gravely mis-Esme Wynn-Tyson is gravely mistaken in affirming that to forgive sin and wrong-doing is "in other words" to condone it. The very opposite is the truth. When Christ forgave the woman taken in adultery, He did not condone her sin. None knew that better than she. His forgiveness would but deepen her consciousness of

guilt, and bringing her spiritual freedom, constrain her never to repeat the transgression.

Likewise, when Christ commanded us to forgive those who trespass against us, even unto seventy times seven. He was not suggesting that by forgiveness, we should be approving or condoning the trespass. He was giving another illustration of His repeated message that evil can only be overcome by good, and sin conquered by immovable love: to tear the sin in one's own soul, to take up the cross and forgive the trespasser is to make an appeal to his better self, to heap coals of fire on his head, softening his hard heart, constraining him to

## LETTERS

repentance, and establishing a new and righteous relationship. To redeem righteous relationship. To redeem the lost wrong-doer by forgiveness is the very heart of pacifism and of Christianity, and infinitely greater than to mount a pedestal to denounce and condemn him or her for the wrong-doing, and cry for reparation (Rev.) EDWIN FOLEY. 38a St. James Road, Watford, Herts.

I HAVE recently come to work in France, and am anxious both to take part in the peace movement here and to tell the people what attitude English pacifists are taking to the problems of the day.

Imagine my dismay when I read the following in Peace News of March 28 in Mr. Middleton Murry's Gom-

"To prevent this (Britain being implicated in the new American policy towards Russia) the New Statesman proposes that Britain should go Communist herself—for that is what the suggested policy amounts to. It is a lamentable exhibition of the bankruptcy—intellectual and moral—of Left Socialism in Britain. It is a mad solution. "

And with regard to Mr. Gromyko's speech at the Security Council on March 8th about atomic energy:

"The only possible immediate reply to this criminal attitude of Russia towards atomic control is to stake out strategic positions against her. Russia has asked for it. The question that deeply concerns question that deeply concerns
Britain is whether USA is really
going to act up to her new policy:
really going to take over British
commitments. There is a very commitments. There is a very setious danger that Britain may be left in the position where she supplies the men and USA the money. That would be quite intolerable: morally and economically."

Whatever may be one's evaluation of Communism or of the Soviet Union, to urge that the British should "stake out strategic positions" is the very opposite of an attempt to solve the problem of Soviet-American relations by pacifist means.

It is impossible to say to my French friends that this policy of the English movement. Consequently I do not show them Peace News. So long as such bellicose statements are printed, the paper cannot be said to be a pacifist one, and this, I have no doubt, is the reason, in spite of the many improvements that have been made in the last six months, why the sales continue to

ANTHONY WEAVER College Classique de Garcons, Cannes, A.M.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

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ONE of the greatest mistakes of the Allied powers was the establishment of political parties inside Germany before outlining a peace treaty. Today, the leading parties inside Germany are the CDU (Christian Democratic Union), SED (Socialist Unity Party), SPD (Social-Decomratic Party of Germany), and the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party).

During my visit to Berlin, I went to the headquarters of the SED, with the intention of seeing its leaders, Wilhelm Pick or Grothewohl. In a well heated and pleasant-looking hall, I asked the porter to show me the way to the office where I could fix an appointment for an interview. After appointment for an interview. After critically examining my credentials, he asked me to see the man in the next room. Here again I showed my credentials, but when I asked to see Mr. Pick, the man behind the desk said—"What do you want from Mr. Pick, and what do you want to know?"

#### Signs of independence

Rather surprised by his questions, I said that I would like to know something about the political conditions in Germany. "You are an Anglo-American correspondent" the SED member replied, and continued in a cynical voice, "If you want to know anything about Germany, you had better ask Mr. Schumacher . . . " ask Mr. Schumacher . . .

"So, you refuse to contact Mr. Pick

for me."
"Mr. Pick is not in the house at

"And Mr. Grothewohl?" I asked.
"He is out too, but I will 'phone
Mr. Pick's secretary and you can
speak to him."

A few seconds later the German called me to the 'phone and asked me to speak to the secretary. When I said that I was a representative of the Anglo-American Press, and would like to have an interview with the leader of the SED party, the secre-tary replied that I must send the questions to the Party Office first, and then one of the leaders would fix the interview after two days . . "

This little incident shows how independent of the occupation powers the parties inside Germany really are; for parties inside Germany really are; for I was certain that my questionnaire would have gone to the Soviet HQ before either Pick or Grothewohl arranged the interview. For this reason I never bothered to meet a party leader of the SED.

The SED is the former German Communist Party and although they had a great defeat during the last elections in Berlin and in the Western

elections in Berlin and in the Western zone of Germany, they are still the strongest party in the Soviet zone, and receive great assistance from the Soviet authorities.

#### Instrument of the British

The greatest enemy of the SED is not as we might have expected, the CDU but the SPD under the leader-ship of Dr. Schumacher. The SPD ship of Dr. Schumacher. The Srp. which has its headquarters in Hanover, is openly regarded as the political instrument of the British. In spite of the various attacks which the leaders of the SPD have made upon the British Military Government, the British Military Government, the averago German will tell you that these attacks are always ignored in Hamburg, the seat of the Government. On the eve of the departure of British or Russian occupation forces, the SED

# Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, April 17, 1937 Schiller's drama, "Don Carlos,"

has been showing for some weeks past in Berlin. In the play the Marquis of Posa says to King Philip, "Sire, give us the right to think freely," It is significant to note that every time these words have been spoken they have been received with loud applause, even when Dr. Goebbels visited the theatre.

The pacifist solution of the crisis (in India) involves the long-term policy of removing every vestige of domination and especially the British armed force that makes possible British economic exploitation.

# GERMAN PARTY POLITICS

### "The German parties have learned a great lesson since the days of the Weimar Republic" says Gerd Treuhaft

centage of their followers.

When I asked the General Secretary of the CDU if his party received any special financial assistance from one of the occupying powers, Dr. Dertinger smiled and said, "Dear Mr. Treuhaft, I wish we did, as sometimes we certainly could do with some assistance, but I can assure you that the CDU does not receive any outside help, and that we are not the voice of any foreign power, but at the same time. I am glad to tell you that we stand on good terms with all four occupying Powers . . . "

#### No clear programmes

The foreign observer must admit that none of the parties will find it easy to please four different powers at the same time. Most of the par-ties are trying to avoid a clear programme. Every interview the leaders give to foreign correspondents is carefully thought out, as no party leader can in the present state of affairs afford to be rebuked by one of the occupying Powers.

The greatest amount of propaganda comes from the SED, because during the early days of Russian occupation of Berlin, all printing works were moved to the Russian zone. Today there are more than fifteen daily and

and the SPD will lose a great per-centage of their followers. weekly papers, most of them in-fluenced by the SED.

The German parties amongst themselves have learned a great lesson since the days of the Weimar Republic. The open attack and polemic against party leaders and party institutions, which I knew before Hitler came to power, have largely disap-pleared. There is a certain unity nside the political party system of Germany, as every party realises the great suffering which German people are undergoing, and their aim to rebuild Germany is a common one.

No political party in Germany, however, has enough freedom to develop its own programme, nor can it reform insti-tutions such as schools or administrations without the permission of the Allied authorities. Therefore, the Alkied authorities. Therefore, the real aim of German party politics is at present to build up a moral and psychological foundation inside the German mass, and to secure a high percentage of followers who are able to fit into the key positions of German administration as soon as either the occurration armies inside Germany the occupation armies inside Germany are reduced to an insignificant num-ber, or the zonal system has disappeared. Both events would give the political party system more freedom of action and power.

# Inquest on Mussolini

Rome, April 2, 1947.

S a dramatic climax to a long period of sensational specula-A sa dramatic climax to a long personal Liberation tion concerning the connection of the National Liberation Committee of Northern Italy with the mysterious disappearance of the late Fascist Party's secret archives and funds, the walls of Rome last week displayed bold posters announcing that on Sunday, March 30, in the Basilica di Massenzio, Colonel Valerio would tell "the truth about Dongo."

In due course, about 20,000 Romans, mostly Communists, assembled in the vaulted spaces of this colossal ruin overlooking the Foro Romano, to hear the story of the punishment of Mussolini and Achille Starace from the lips of their executioner—in private life the book-keeper Walter Audisio, but in the records of the Communist Party of Italy the heroic Partisan leader—"Colonel Valerio."

The scene of these "revelations" was perhaps chosen for its symbolic associations, for the Basilica di Massenzio occupies the site of an ancient pagan Temple of Peace, and Constantino and Co tine—who carried on with its building after the overthrow of the Emperor Maxentius until it finally roofed over some 7,000 sq. yds.—used the place as a Court of Justice. I could not help reflecting that these gaunt yet still imposing fragments of a dead civilisation might also symbolise for us today the emasculated state of both Peace and Justice in our demented modern world.

#### The treasure of Dongo

Regarding the so-called "treasure of Dongo," Valerio had, after all, not much to tell. "It was not his concern," he said. "Maybe the Partisans, and the people around at the time of the interception of the Fascist column carrying it, had dipped into a bit of it"—he did not know. But he said many Communists believed that letters from "the man with the cigar" to Mussolini were stolen from it, and also that the treasure once contained documents compromising contained documents compromising the integrity and personal morality of

Umberto II; these too, were stolen.

But the crowd did not seem to mind. The contents and whereabouts of the treasure were, apparently, matters not very important to them. They had come to applaud the destruction of the hated Duce, and there

struction of the hated Duce, and there was nothing vague or conjectory about Valerio's description of that.

He spoke of Mussolini in tones of withering contempt: The Fascist Leader died a coward. He was executed without theatricals. The Manhimself deserved no respect, commanded none, and was given none manded none, and was given none. Il Duce met his fate without pride,

### ——by— FREDRIC LOHR

without justification—he was not a man, but a bundle of shaking fear: "I had the feeling of shooting not a man but something inferior. When man but something inferior. When a man faces death he knows how to assume a certain human dignity but Mussolini trembled before death."

So the speaker quickly dismissed the objection raised in some quarters, that Mussolini was not given time to confess himself. This charge could have no basis, he said, because Musso-lini never even thought of Confession lini never even thought of Confession. Had he wanted to confess he would have been given time to do so, but the deposed tyrant "did not even recall his dear ones, neither his wife nor his children. He uttered nothing whatever of spiritual value. If any-one should ever try to rehabilitate his memory. I shall say that he died more memory, I shall say that he died more vilely than any of the Fascist Chiefs we shot at Dongo."

Of Starace, Valerio said he was brought in by a group of young Com-munists and shot, summarily, like a dog, in the presence of Charles Poletti, the Allied Military Governor of Milan, who approved the execution and ex-claimed "Justice is done."\*

Fascists, Qualunquists and other re-actionaries "nostalgic for Monarchy and Fascism" beware. Let them understand that the Partisans are not afraid of civil war.

Neither, apparently, were the fervent Communists in the Basilica di Massenzio. At every mention of the word "neo-Fascism" they cried out

\*Poletti has since denied this, and repudiates Audisio's statement that he sanctioned the killing of either Mussolini or Starace. Interviewed by the Associated Press he insisted that these executions had taken place before he assumed command in Milan, and therefore he could not have passed any judgment on them at the time.

### AFTER THESE TERRIBLE YEARS

Runham Brown of the War Re-Kunham Brown of the War Resisters' International received this letter recently from Maud von Ossietzky. Her husband Carl received the 1935 Nobel Peace Prize while in hospital suffering from the effects of his internment in a concentration camp. He died in May 1938 He fearlessly died in May, 1938. He fearlessly exposed German re-armament in pre-Hitler days in the radical pacifist weekly "Die Weltbuhne" of which he became editor.

After all these terrible years I again hear of you. Let me thank you once again for all your kindness to me when I was in London in 1935. I shall never forget how good my friends were to me at the time that my hus-band was in the Concentration Camp in Germany.

The last I heard of you was when Ian Forrester visited me in the summer of 1939. Since then I have had no news from anybody in England; and now I hear from a lady friend of mine. Fraulein Hankow, that you have asked about me. It is so good to know

about me. It is so good to know that one is not quite forgotten.

My husband was released in 1936, but he was never really free — two "Gestapo" men watched over him day and night, although he was very very ill. I was with him for the last 18 months—for which I am very thankful. He died a true pacifist. They had conquered his fist. They had conquered his body but not his steadfast upright spirit.

I am now trying to carry out his work as well as I can with the help of an upright honourable man—so far, in spite of many difficulties, the "Weltbühne" is perhaps the best magazine in Germany for the work of peace among the nations. Of course the Nazis made it possible that the Nazis made it possible that nothing of the Nobel Prize was left—so I had to borrow money to begin it again—and my part-ner also invested his little money we began with nothing, but we hope in time to be able to pay

back our debts.

My daughter is in Sweden and has married a Swede, but so far in spite of all I undertake I am not allowed to go to Stockholm. It is very difficult to leave Germany and I don't know to whom to apply; but I go on hoping, and with God's help I hope sometime to go to my children for a visit.

These last 14 years here were These last 14 years here were terrible, but we who are still living hope that the time will come when there will be peace and goodwill among the nations. Please write to me, if only a few lines, so that I know you have got this letter: so many letters get lost. get lost.

With the kindest regards to your wife and daughters and my best wishes for "Peace News,"

Yours very sincerely, MAUD v. OSSIETZKY.

Berlin-Pankow. Wisbyersts: 45a.

loudly and passionately "Kill them. Kill them." I looked away into the near distance where the massive, brooding Coliseum embodied memories of grimmer scenes and fiercer transports—yet suddenly, it seemed to me that nothing had changed. The The harangue went on to warn the comrades of the dangers of a revival of Fascism. Valerio did not like to hear talk of civil war in Italy: he deprecated such talk, but let neo-Fascists. Qualunquists and other re-

But there was no violence done that Sunday. The Qualunquists were conspicuous by their absence. I heard later that they had been given strict orders not to attend the meeting-in order to avoid giving offence. If there were anti-Communists in the crowd, they gave no sign of their presence—and so the Valerio Rally passed off without incident or dis-order. There was no one to mourn a slaughtered tyrant, or to remind us of the adulation and homage he once enjoyed in this very city—a city where ironically enough, there are erected so many monuments to dethroned and execrated despots.

# PALESTINE AGAIN

Arab - Jewish Unity, by Judah Magnes and Martin Buber. Gollancz, 5s.

HAD such hopes, both from the title and the authors of this book, that I must confess to great disappointment.

Certainly it is good to find a re-affirmation of the fact that "there is no deep racial animosity between these two related Semitic peoples." But the authors do not answer the question which naturally follows—why, in that case, the present tension? We are told the familiar story of the alleged benefits to the Arabs of Jewish colon-isation, and of the "historical rights" of the Jews in Palestine. But the authors do not tell us where or when any other people have willingly allowed immigration on such a scale.

It was only under protection of British bayonets (and of foreign rule bitterly resented by the Arabs, but supported originally by the Zionists) that Jewish immigration on such a scale was possible. And it is only—as the authors make clear — by the continuation of foreign rule, based upon force, that the solution they propose can be attempted. Their proposal is to continue Jewish mass immigration until the Jewish minority, which has already risen under British rule from about five per cent. to about one third of the population, reaches equality with the Arabs. In some unexplained way there is to be eventually a bi-national state; but meanwhile the ground is to be prepared by the continuation of foreign rule in order to enforce a policy repugnant to the present Arab majority and unsatisfactory to the Zionists.

The concession that the Arabs have "certain natural rights in Palestine" will hardly conciliate a people who feel as strongly about their country as the English or the Americans. It is particularly unfortunate that the usual confusion is made between the Zionist claims in Palestine and the claims of Jewish refugees on the conscience of humanity as a whole. The Americans, for example, who are the principal backers of Zionism, feel so strongly that Americans have "certain natural nights" in America that they are unwilling to take into their vast country more than a tiny percentage of the refugees whom they propose to squeeze into a country the size of Wales. Each nation jealously safeguards its own immigration policy, and together they salve their consciences by dumping their problems on those to whom they deny self-government—a curious comment on "sacred trusts."

What needs to be said is that there is no equitable solution which fails to recognise certain factors. The first is that the Arabs have been treated throughout in a way which any other people would have equally resented. The second is that, although the existence of a large Jewish minority is now a fact (irrespective of its unfortunate origin), the Arab majority is also a fact. If our object is to achieve democratic self-government in Palestine—which will be difficult in view of the antecedents-at least we had better not begin by denying the first principles of democracy, and over-riding the wishes of the majority by force majeure. Yet such is the first premise of the authors of this book, upon which they build a vain hope of unity thich they build a vain nope ...

"peace where there is no peace."

R.R.

Pianoforte Recital JOSEPH WEINGARTEN Friends' House, Euston Rd., N.W.1 Monday, April 21st, 1947 at 7 p.m. aid of the funds of the Reception Committee, Young People from Occupied Countries. Young

Reserved seats, 7s. 6d., from 29 Portman Sq., W.1.
Welbeck 9282. Admission Free



# EUROPEAN L

Contemporary Italy: Its Intellectual and Moral Origins, by Count Carlo Sforza. Fredrick Muller, 15s.

NE of the prime needs of Italy after the twenty-one years of Fascist nightmare is her moral re-habilitation in the eyes of the world. Her stock, in spite of participation in the struggle for liberty from 1943 onwards, is still low. The average person tends to identify too closely Government and people, and Count Sforza appears to have it as one of the chief aims of this book to disassociate the 1922-43 regime from the main current of Italian political thought.

This disassociation is effected partly by an examination of political and moral ideas in the fields of literature, philosophy and the actions of Italy's great statesmen and leaders, such as Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi: and partly by an explanation of the circumstances that led up to the seizure of power by the Fascist party, complete with scape-goats three — the King, Mussolini and Facta (leader of last cabinet before the advent of the Fascists), who not only further discredited parliamentary rule in the eyes of the Italian people, but was also mainly responsible for keeping out of power the only man, possibly, who might have saved the country from the ministerial crisis in which it was labouring, the aged but respected and experienced Giolitti.

The book is valuable to the general reader as an extremely interesting survey of the history of Italian political thinking; and to the student for its shrewd characterisations of many political figures prominent in the last three decades, with whom Count Sforza came into personal contact, as well as for the illumination he sheds on the motivations behind various political moves in that period.

Of the three modes of diplomacy, the Hitlenian, in which any given treaty is worth only the equivalent amount of wood-pulp, the Louis XIV, ("In each treaty insert a clause that can

## THE SURVIVORS

Belsen Uncovered, by Derrick Sington. Duckworth, 8s. 6d.

IT is well that the public should be reminded that the survivors of Belsen survive. Having been fully exploited to stir up hatred of Germany in the concluding phase of the war, they have served their turn so far as the Press is concerned. Except when a handful suddenly turns up off the coast of Palestine—to be shipped away once more to the familiar barbed wire—the displaced persons of Europe are in danger of being forgotten altogether. It is now announced that if the International Refugee Organisation has not begun work by June 30, all those still in the care of UNRRA will be forcibly repatriated: i.e., driven to new concentration camps.

Mr. Sington's book is timely. was, it appears, the first British officer to enter Belsen in 1945; and, as luck would have it, he is no sensationalist, concerned to make commercial or political capital out of the suffering and horrors of the place, but a careful and competent reporter. From his description, sensibly accompanied by a map, as well as a chapter "How we lived in Belsen" by Rudolf Kuestermeier (now Hamburg edntor of Die Welt), it is possible to construct a coherent picture of one of the Nazi concentration camps, and gain some insight into the vast, inhuman organisation which lay behind them.

But Mr. Sington does more than describe the camp as he found it. He devotes many pages to the relief-work undertaken there, in most of which he himself had a part: and deeply mov-ing some of these pages are. Here is an achievement which, though little publicised, reflects more credit on the British authorities than the mere trial British authorities than the mich cap-and execution of Kramer, which capture i the newspaper headlines. It would be a deep disgrace if it were not carried to a successful conclusion, in the reinstatement of these tortured neople in jobs and countries where they may recover their self-respect, they may recover their and live useful, hopeful lives.
F. A. L.

leasily be violated; thus the entire instrument can be renounced in a case where the State's interests suggest the necessity,") and the type based on diplomatic morality, it would appear that Count Sforza is a devotee of this last, to infer both from his comment on international affairs and from what he tells us of his own activities in the diplomatic world, in which he has, over many years, occupied posts of considerable importance. It will be interesting to observe whether, in his present-day position as Minister for Foreign affairs, he will be able to maintain that diplomatic morality (a sickly child at the best of times, and never more in need of vitamin-tablets than today) which, as one of Europe's most distinguished Liberals, he advocates.
R. C. ROBERTS.

### From the days of Edward 1

Searchlight on Peace Plans, by Edith Wynner and Georgia Lloyd. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1946.

F the nations do not dwell to-L gether in unity and peace it is not for want of plans to achieve that end. In this American compilation, summaries are given of no fewer than 74 projects for world government published between 1306 and 1914, and of 77 since that date. The latter number includes only those that provide definite details of the proposed organisation, the residue after discarding thousands of less precise suggetions and apirations after world peace.

A concluding section gives particulars of various practical attempts which have been made to curb national sovereignty by means of Leagues and Federations. The League of Nations and the United Nations are, thus, only the last of a long series and each item in their constitutions is to be found somewhere or other in previous proposals.

Whether the latest attempt will be successful is doubtful, for it suffers, as most of its predecessors do, from the fatal defect of envisaging peace as something to be forcibly preserved by means of war. It is true that many of the plans speak of relying on an International Police, but it is clear that this is a misnomer and that what is contemplated is an armed force which will use every kind of weapon against nations and not in-

Among all the many plans here listed, only four definitely provide for and it is interesting to note who were the authors of these exceptional proposals. One was by this German philosopher Kart and the authors of these exceptional proposals. osopher Kant, one by a couple of American women, one a Central European women's organisation for world neace, and one a study group com-nosed of Chinese, Japanese and Negroes resident in the USA. It is a poor commentary on the wisdom of the thinkers and statesmen of the world that it should be left to those few to envisage the only means by which peace can be permanently preserved.

The book is both clear and concise

and it forms an excellent work of reference for all those engaged in preparing blue prints for the future government of the world.

A. K. J.

the road

Years of Crisis, by Kenneth Ingram. Allen & Unwin, 21s.

AZISM or fascism is a kind of bacillus which, nourished on the right culture, is capable of growth in any part of the world; it is a disease of our civilisation. In a book in which the author is at pains to avoid a dogmatic or partisan interpretation of history, this is the principal implication that emerges from a lucid and commendably accurate narrative. And its corollary is the oftensung but none the less aweinspiring platitude, which Mr. Ingram re-phrases as, "mankind has entered an era of acute unsettlement and . . . the war has been no more than a prelude to that ordeal."

This ordeal, in his last analysis, Mr. Ingram reduces to economic causation. Although the frequently emphasizes that he is only telling the story of 1919 to 1945, he always returns to the purely economic interpretation of history. The outstanding feature "of our society is that it has been based on the design of endowing a minority of individuals with the ownership of the sources of wealth," and of the means of producing and controlling wealth. The result: "a network of separate nationalisms at war econom-ically with each other."

On Mr. Ingram's terms much of the German problem is accounted for by the impossible economic burden imposed upon that country after the 1914-18 war. This is undoubtedly true, but not wholly true. Mr. Ingram's weakness is his implied preoccupation with purely economic causes. Psychological causes, political ones which have not sprung from purely economic roots, and merely human weaknesses, are not given a sufficient place in his interpretation.

The first part of his book rather suffers on this account. Our early failings, however, in not encouraging the pacific Weimar Republic and a youth movement whose outlook "was the very reverse of war-mindedness," are shown to have born their succeeding fatalities. Litvinov's challenging disarmament proposals met with dedisarmament proposals met with de-rision; during the Disarmament Con-ference a British firm was advertising in a German paper that it "would be happy to supply 'war materials of all kinds'"; there was complete fail-ure to arrive at "any scheme of international economic unity": all international economic unity"; all Europe was rocking on a crumbling economy; the slump had an inevitable recovery through the armaments race—these contributions to the international chaos of 1939-45, which yet perpetuates itself. Mr. Ingram conveys in an enlightened perspective, and we are left to draw our own con-

What are they? First, despite a wary scepticism, we are perilously near committing similar follies in a disrupted Germany; secondly, we are very little nearer the necessary scheme international economic thirdly, disarmament has been more thoroughly shelved than on the pre-vious occasion; and all this is discomforting to say the least! But one takes heart in the thought that Mr. Ingram is striving, in this admirable book, to create the kind of informed public opinion which alone can pre-

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# Ten Pacifists Arrested

#### **NEW YORK DEMONSTRATION**

MEMBERS of the New York Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters League went out on fashionable Fifth Avenue on on fashionable Fifth Avenue on Easter Sunday to remind the paraders that true Christianity is needed to bring peace. About fifty persons carried signs with such slogans as: "Food, Not Guns," "Imperialism and Christianity Don't Mix," "I Was Hungry and You Fed Me," and "Would Jesus Send the Navy to the Dardanelles?" Some distributed leaflets to passers-by. leaflets to passers-by.

A civil liberties issue arose when police, who had refused to grant permission for the poster walk beforehand, met the pacifists each time they reached a Fifth Avenue corner and suggested a detour to side streets. The marchers went around a block or two, returned to the Avenue, and generally covered another block before they were again ordered aside.

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When one man who refused to move aside for the police was picked up bodily and carried across the street, ten others massed at that corner and refused to continue the detour pro-cess. Public attention was thereby called to the refusal to permit them on the Avenue, which was already so crowded that another dozen people would have made no noticeable difference. After half an hour of discussion and conferring, the police sent for

and conferring, the police sent for their wagon and arrested the ten on charges of disorderly conduct. The trial is set for April 24.

Publicity in the New York papers was generally good, although one reporter, missing the reason for the concentration of the group at one corner, expressed confusion at the "picketing" of the particular church, St. Thomas's, which is located there. St. Thomas's, which is located there.
FRANCES ROSE RANSOM.

LOOK TO THE BEAM IN YOUR OWN EYE said Jesus.

# 94% OF THE PEOPLE

IN THIS WORLD DO NOT LIVE IN THE U.S.A.

In the light of President Truman's proposals for military intervention in Greece and Turkey-

#### How do WE look to THEM?

- 1. Does America share its abundance of food and other resources only with people who allow us to dominate their economic and political lives?
- Is America planning to become the New Empire, engaging in power politics all over the world to secure raw materials and markets, picking up the pieces of the crumbling British Empire?
- Does America think it can FORCE belief in democracy down the throats of hungry people?
- Can't America understand that Communism thrives on hunger, fear, and oppression by tyrannical rulers, such as those in Athens and Ankara; that the only effective answer is food, jobs, and
- Is America willing to risk atomic war, which scientists say can wipe out 40,000,000 people in one night, to protect oil interests and the capitalist system in the Near East?
- If you are concerned about the dangerous trend in our foreign policy,

#### TAKE ACTION!

Write your Congressman, Senators, Newspaper Editors. Oppose military and political aspects of Truman's programme for Greece and Turkey.

Urge that food and agricultural equipment be sent immediately to hungry and needy peoples in any country, without dictating economic and political policies.

Insist that political problems be handled on an international, not a unilateral

New York Fellowship of Reconciliation, 45 Astor Place, New York 3. War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Street, New York 7.

Members of the New York FoR distributed this leaflet in their Easter Sunday demonstration.

#### TB INCREASES AMONGST DPs

IN a recent report to the Regional even the hungry will not eat them—
Medical Officer, the T.B. Welfare
Officer, Lubeck, speaks of the
"frightening" increase of tuberculosis, as revealed by 10,000 X-ray
examinations, among the displaced
persons of his district. This increase,
consciolly ravid during the last six persons of his district. This increase, especially rapid during the last six months, he attributes in part to the food supplied to DPs.

In theory they receive the same rations as the Germans; actually the quality of their food is inferior, as the German distribution bear than the food man distribution bear the food in the food man distribution bear the food in the food man distribution bear the food in the food is inferior, as

the German distribution keep the best for their countrymen. He also stressed the bad cooking of the meals which are often so uninviting that

camps; in overcrowded barrack rooms, without the most necessary hygienic arrangements; rooms which, even in this last bitter winter, lacked heating. As a natural consequence, the occu-pants forbore to ventilate their over-crowded dwellings — and the doctor expresses his astonishment at "the resistance of those who have to live in these conditions."

#### ADVISORY BUREAUX CHANGES

PADDINGTON—Delete.
GREENFORD—Horace Fuller, 588 Whitton
Avenue West. Greenford, Middlesex.
SHEPHERD'S BUSH—Delete.
FINCHLEY—now Joan R. Layton, 120
Falloden Way, N.W.11. (SPE. 1746).
SOUTH WESTERN REGIONAL SECRETARY
—Will Cushnie, 31 Henleaze Avenue, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.
WOLVERHAMPTON—Now an ind. advisor.
BURTON-ON-TRENT—Now an individual advisor.

#### P.N. PAMPHLETS

## A new scheme

ROR several years PN pamphlets have been a valuable supplement to Peace News. They were sent month by month to those readers who added 1s. a year to their subscription. Originally their aim was to deal with "some topic of immediate public, international or pacifist importance in a much more adequate way than the reduced size of the paper permits."

It cannot be questioned that this series has served a useful purpose to PN readers and to the PPU. The first of the pamphlets—Howard Whitten's Muslims of India—was sold out, and also the last one—Roger Page's Little Yellow Bird. Not all have been so successful, but a high standard has been managedly maintained been generally maintained.

It has become increasingly difficult to get writers to deal authoritatively with subjects proper to the series, and also a point has been reached at which a monthly distribution is no longer economic. Most important of all, the conviction has grown that too many pamphlets are being produced and that leas many got greater attention

that less may get greater attention.
In future PN pamphlets will appear at irregular intervals instead of monthly, being published as and when important manuscripts become available. They will be uniform in appearance but not in length—thus removing one of the disabilities of the old series. They will recover the control of the con ies. They will vary in price, ranging from 1d. to probably 3d. or 4d. The guarantee to subscribers will be that during the course of a year they will receive at least a shillings-worth of pamphlets. (Those who pay quarterly subscriptions may not necessarily get pamphlets to the value of 3d. in any one quarter; the scheme is on

a yearly basis).
Readers who subscribe to the scheme will receive their pamphlets with the paper. Non-readers of PN are invited to become Pamphlet Scheme subscribers and to these the pamphlets will be posted direct. pampniets will be posted direct. The cost of a direct subscription is 1s. 6d. a year, which includes postage, and orders should be sent to the PN office, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4., or can be accepted at PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and at Housman's, 124 Shaftesbury Avenue, W.1. It is expected that the first two numblets under the new aprange-

BURTON-ON-TRENT — Now an advisor.

MATLOCK—Now Norman S. Taylor, Holmlea, Wensley, Nr. Matlock.

KEIGHLEY—Delete
PONTEFRACT—Delete.
ROTHERHAM—Delete.
NORTHUMBERLAND & DURHAM REGIONAL SECRETARY—Raymond O. Wyldenow at 1 Horsley Rd., Ovingham-on-Tyne, Nr. Newcastle, Northumberland.

LLANELLY—Ada Mitchell, 8 Glevering Street, Llanelly, S. Wales.

Street, Llanelly, S. Wales.

#### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

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## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

WILL ANYONE translate English poetry into German? 88 Burford Rd., Nottingham.

SINGLE COWMAN wanted, to take charge of small dairy herd on co-operative farm. Gothic Farm Soc., Heveningham, Halesworth, Suffolk.

### A.G.M. MOTIONS

INFORTUNATELY an amendment to the first motion submitted by National Council on the order paper, though duly sent by the Yorkshire Area, was not received at the office. It has therefore been decided that it is only right that the amendment having been duly sent should be added to the order paper. It is in the following

"To delete all words after the word 'conviction' and to substitute the following:—
"That the support or sanction of

the use of armed force whether controlled by international or national authority for any purpose is not consistent with pacifism."

It will therefore be taken as the main amendment to Council Motion No. 1; so that the other three amendments marked (a), (b) and (c) on the order paper will not be taken unless the Yorkshire amendment is not carried.

#### Rev. Allen Job

THE Rev. Allen Job, who died on April 2, was one of those paci-fists who gave his life to fighting, not war itself, but another social evil; he was the energetic and able secretary of the Churches Committee on Gamb-

He had a story-book life; his father was a bullock-driver and he was himself formerly a missionary. He never despaired at the bigness of his task nor at the alarming growth of the betting evil; he just pegged away in inconrigible optimism, and so alert and hard-working was he that it comes as almost a shock to know he was over 65. He will be much missed, and not easily replaced.

## WOMEN DEMAND EQUALITY

A fair field and no favour! Vera Brittain Freda Corbet, M.P. Sybil Thorndike Michael Tippett Lady Pethick-Lawrence Teresa Billington-Greig

Chairman: Alderman EMIL DAVIES, J.P., L.C.C.

CONWAY HALL Red Lion Square, W.C.I Tuesday 6th May-7.30

Reserved seats 2s. 6d. and 1s. Some free. Apply: Sybil Morrison, Hon. Sec., Dorothy Evans Memorial Committee, 17 St. Leonard's Terrace, S.W.3, or Women for Westminster, 6 Paddington St., W.1.

## CATARRH

THIS commonest of all disease conditions amongst civilised peoples, greatly impairs mental efficiency, lowers resistance to infection, and generally debilitates its innumerable victims. The true remedy is to de-toxicate the system, restore the clean bloodstream of youth, and then reform the diet and other habits of living.

Garlic—a prescription with 5000 years of history—is a most powerful disinfecting agent; and greatly helps in neutralising and liquifying catarrh.

Send stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets about Garlic in its modern deodorised forms which impart no taint whatever to the breath or person

Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex

# **FREEDOM**

#### Year's work reviewed

AST week a joint meeting of the Centre, to which the PPU is nationally affiliated, was held with representatives of several of the organisations of coloured peoples.

It is just over a year since the Centre was constituted and the Chairman, Fenner Brockway, reviewed the work done. It made quite an imposing list of activities in benefit of coloured people exploited by western imperialisms, British, French and Dutch in Indonesia. Caylon, British

ern imperialisms, British, French and Dutch, in Indonesia, Ceylon, British African possessions, Tunisia, West Indies and elsewhere.

For instance, the TU section of the Parliamentary Labour Party and TUs throughout the country were stimulated to action when they were informed by the Centre that an attempt was being made in Nigeria to introduce legislation which in effect would impose on TU activities there precisely those restrictions which the precisely those restrictions which the Government here has abolished.

Many coloured people have been attracted to this country recently by news of the shortage of labour, only to find that, owing to colour prejudice, they are unable to get employment and they are living in squalf penury in the slums of several of the big cities. The Government is being urged to take action to relieve them.

Our late Secretary, Mrs. Benington, succeeded in persuading the LCC to introduce into its curriculum of teachers' training a course of lectures on the evils of the colour bar and race

prejudice.

The coloured peoples are so appreciative of the help given them that they are insistent that the Centre must continue its work. They made many helpful suggestions for future activities. But these are seriously hampered by lack of funds. The response to appeals for affilia-tion has been disappointing and it is difficult to arouse interest in colonial matters in the TUs, preoccupied with their domestic problems. PPU groups and individual members everywhere are urged to affiliate—the fee is only 5s. a year—and to arouse at-tention in their localities to the still existing scandals of colonial condi-tions. The Centre can supply speakers and will be glad to give any information required. Its office is in Dick Sheppard House. A. K. J.

# BRITISH CENTRE FOR COLONIAL AFTER SIX YEARS OF WAR

The Bishop of Chichester (Dr. G. K. A. Bell), speaking at a service in Chichester Cathedral for German prisoners-of-war yesterday said:—

"Unless the statesmen and the people of the so-called civilised globe reject the false beliefs and false practice of the world, and accept the teachings of Christ, there will be no future except annihilation for the empires and institutions and civilisations of the mad twentieth century."

Dr. Bell declared himself in full

agreement with the recent petition of 9,000,000 Protestant churchmen in Germany to speed up the release of German prisoners-of-war.

-Observer, April 6.

American warships used in the Bikini atom bomb tests nine months ago are still radicactive.

The US Navy has been unable to find a decontaminating agent powerful enough to make them safe.

—Daily Mail, April 8.

Russia supports the international control of Atomic materials at every stage of their development—but she is not going to allow United Nations planes to look over her remoter territoriles for signs of illegal mining of them

This was made clear at Lake Success by Mr. Gromyko, when he clarified Russian views on control, says
—Star, April 9.

#### Manchester's relief effort

THE Manchester and Salford Famine Relief Committee are appealing for support to their new collecting centre for "Save Europe Now" at Affleck and Brown's store in Oklham Street, Manchester, A counter on the ground floor will be open on April 21, for some months, between the hours of 10 a.m. and 5.30 p.m. from Monday to Friday, for the collection of rationed food, money, clothing and footwear, medicines and

parcels at a warehouse and volunteers will be needed. The clothing and footwear will be sent to Friends Re-lief Service. Money for the purchase of food supplies for relief teams abroad may be paid into the European Relief Fund at the District Bank, Manchester. Over £2,000 was col-

thers, 9 St. Leonar ley, Manchester 2.

The food will be packed in 7 lb.

lected by the last appeal in January. Offers of assistance should be sent to the Hon Secretary: John Carru-thers, 9 St. Leonard's Drive, Timper-

# Euston Road, N.W.I.

## SPIRITUAL NEED IN EUROPE

The Archbishop of Canterbury

Dr. Hanns Lilje, of Hanover

Miss Lettice Jowitt, of Friends' Relief Service

Thursday, 24th April, at 7.30 p.m.

International Fellowship of Reconciliation 38 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

### Tunbridge Wells meeting A RESOLUTION deploring the in-

troduction of permanent military conscription in peace-time was carried unanimously at a public meeting in the Friends' Meeting House, Tun-bridge Wells last week, reports the Kent Courier, when Mr. T. Braddock, M.P. for Mitcham, was the speaker.

Neither our military commitments abroad nor our obligations to the United Nations were such as to involve the need of conscription for the armed forces, said Mr. Braddock, who considered that the kind of forces contemplated under the Bill would be useless for the defence of this country against modern weapons.

The Chairman, the Rev. Clifford Macquire, Regional Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, proposed the following resolution:-

"This public meeting deeply de-plores the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce permanent military conscription in peace-time.

We are convinced that such a policy contrary to the whole spirit and history of the Labour Government, is to the moral, economic and social detriment of the country, and is outmoded even as a measure of military defence."

The meeting was organised by the Tunbridge Wells Branch of the FOR.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CONSCRIPTION Commonwealth's resolution

AT the Common Wealth's Fifth Annual Conference held at Hastings during Easter, the following resolutions on the Armed Forces were adoptad: "This Conference urges the re-placement of all National Armed Forces by a genuine international

Armed Force to guard the essential freedoms of all peoples."

"This Conference condemns conscription for the National Armed Forces in peace-time."

A sixteen point memorandum on a policy for Germany was adopted, which urged that there should be a central administration for all the Zones, under the General Assembly of UNO pending this constitution of a democratically-elected German Government. When such a Government had arisen, Germany should be allowed to become a member-state of UNO. The immediate reduction of the forces of Occupation was urged, and great stress laid on the measures

great stress laid on the measures necessary to restore economic health to Germany, and hence to Europe.
During the Conference, R. N. Chesterton, a member of the party's National Committee, was selected as prospective candidate for Mr. Churchill's constituency of Woodford, in order to focus public opinion upon the war danger inherent in the continuation of Churchillian foreign policy by the Labour Government. by the Labour Government.

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In the event of another war, Britain would concentrate on providing man-power in the field; Australia on pro-viding the industrial backing — particularly the manufacture of guided missiles.

-Daily Mail, April 8.

WASHINGTON, Widnesday.-The new War Department report on atomic warfare urges the US to seek allies "to h'elp America absorb atomic attacks." The shock of a powerful aggressor "can better be absorbed by a number of nations," it says.—Express News Service. press News Service.

—Daily Express, April 10.

NEW YORK, Wednesday. — Brazil today proposed in UNO's Disarmament Commission that the US should organise a Western Hemisphere disarmament plan as a first step towards world disarmament.—Express News

-Daily Express, April 10.

The Australian Government favours the outlawing of atomic warfare under a system of international control, Mr. J. B. Chifley, Prime Minister, said in Canberra today, reports BUP.

He added that this is the most certain way of ensuring the safety of cities in Australia and elsewhere against destruction in atom war.

—Star. April 10.

The US and the Argentine, it is reported, will shortly sign an agreement to outlaw Communism.
—Daily Express, April 11.

#### RELEASE DATES FOR COS

Approximate dates when conditionally registered C.O.s may expect to receive their release notices are as

Men: Group 47. March 29; 48, April 24; 49, May 8; 50. May 31; 51, June 13; 52, June 28; 53, July 11; 54, July 29; 55, Aug. 13; 56, Aug. 25; 57, Sep. 15; 58, Oct. 3. Before the end of Dec., 1947, it is also hoped to release men in groups 59 and 60.

Women: 57. April 5: 58. April 21: 59. May 12: 60. June 3: 61. July 1: 62. July 28: 63. Aug. 27: 64. Sep. 25. It is also hoped to release women in groups 65 to 67 by the end of the year.

At Friends House

## FRIENDSHIP VISITS ABROAD 1947

MAY TO SEPTEMBER INTERNATIONAL CENTRES

Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerl

Youth Club Leaders please note: Special Youth Weeks in Montreux, Switzerland. Cost £13 3 0 Fortnight

Particulars and booking forms from Travel Secretary, P.N.I. International Friendship League, 33 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

Please try to avoid peak period of late July-August.

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